342 The frame was called tumlu''us. The oval house was covered with mats of tule or, where available somewhat away from the lake, a grasslike shrub (kana'a:ts).

The floor of dwellings was not excavated in the lake area since moisture and flood water would seep or run in. Contrarily, if a house site on a rise of ground could not be obtained, the floor was artificially built up by bringing in baskets of earth. For the same reason sleeping places were raised up on a low framework of wood (willow). The Wowol particularly had these, and the Chunut and Tachi who bordered close on the lake. The usual tule mat flooring and bed padding were used.

● [352]

Kroeber's statement on the long house is somewhat contradictory. It may be partly based on Powers' illustration.

> ... the mat-covered, gabled, communal kawi of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end. These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber.
>
> The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or dumlus, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

Kroeber goes on to describe the oval house, attributing it to the Wechihit and Tachi of modern times and stating that it may be made with or without a center ridgepole. The house mats were made by wrapping each stalk to the next with "a hitch in a single strand of string," whereas floor and bed mats were sewn. The Wechihit "use a covering of tall mohya stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called te or chi."[3]

A Wechihit informant (J.At.) said houses in her village near Sanger were all mat covered and were placed in any order along the riverbank.

At Telwsy:t both long and oval houses were constructed. At Piaras, the village in Wolosi territory, the oval house covered with grass mats predominated. On the north shore of Tulare Lake Jeff Mayfield saw long houses of the Tachi.

The houses at the lake were the thing I noticed most. I do not remember having seen a

---

[3] Handbook, 521-522.

342 be three or four, above it. The topmost band was actually a small ring about 18 inches in diameter inside the pole tops which were spread apart by it: it served as a smoke hole as no covering was placed above it (fig. 5, a, b).

The thatch covering was made by twining together in long sections small bunches of fine willow or long fine grass. The grasses were placed head downward the better to shed water. These skirtlike sections were held in place by long willow strips running around outside of and parallel to the inner horizontal frame bands. The exterior band and thatch were bound to the interior band with ho'. An upper layer of thatch overlapped its lower neighbor by about one foot. When a house leaked, which was claimed to be only in prolonged rainstorms which soaked the grasses, a bundle of thatch or a tule mat was fastened over the weak spot.[153]

[285] A panel door was made by tying a specially made mat of tule or willow to a framework of willow or young alder. Normally this leaned against the house at one side of the doorway, but in bad weather, the only occasion for its use, it was tied over the door from the inside. Skins were not hung over the doorway. Storehouses were supplied with little doors tied on from the outside.

[354] The fireplace was always in a small hollow in the center of the house. In the summer, however, domestic fires were most frequently 342 built outside under the ramada. The floor was 352 covered with tule mats, several of which were piled together to make comfortable sleeping places. Baskets, articles in frequent use, and valuables were stored around the outer edges of the room. Cooking stones, stone-lifters, and mush-stirrer remained by the fireplace. Overhead one or more rods, whose ends rested on the horizontal frame bands, served as a place to hang articles; a special kind of hanging basket was made for this use. Small valuables were often hidden in the upper thatch or between mats. (M.L., J.P., S.G.) The most desirable [574] place for sitting during the daytime was just inside the door. At night, and when sleeping, a guest was placed at the center back.

342 Mats were rarely used on a conical frame as they were not readily adaptable to its shape. 285 They were twined of fine willow or tule, varied from 2 to 4 feet in width, and were about 6 feet long. Four or five mats were needed to cover a house of average size; they were tied on with milkweed string. Such mats could be removed from one house to another and were convenient to roll up and take to summer camp. One informant (M.L.) stated that tule house mats were sewed, not twined, a method

[178]

[153] No native-type houses are in use today. Two normal-sized but poorly built grass thatch houses, which had been made for show purposes, were seen by the recorder at Squaw Valley in 1927. They had been built by Chukaimina living there.

[P. 145b] Western Mono NS25

M
103 Wobonuch sites:
131 14. sui ´nawe
15. suina ´weta mapa ´dowɨn: suinawe junction or fork
361 16. paha ´wetᵘ: meaning "pestle place"
17. kini ´dewetᵘ: Sacata Flat
18. sasi ´wetᵘ: fishing camp; given as sasi ´we by D.S.
19. wiya ´ma: Oak Mountain

STRUCTURES

Y
342 Dwellings.---A house was called tomo ´hɨš, and was probably hemispherical, not conical nor gabled, if my understanding of P.D.W.'s description is correct. The frame was called sutu ´wɨts, the term for the material used, and was covered with a thatch, not mats, of a "brush" called ai ´ač, which was tied on with ho'. This grassy "brush" had the quality of matting when wet, so it was practically waterproof. The floor was not dug out "except to make a good sleeping place" (possibly individual [352 hollows filled with bark and tule mats). The 513] doorway of the house was called ti ´šɨč, covered with a removable door of twined aiač fastened on a frame.

A dome-shaped earth lodge was used by the Choinimni, according to Mayfield; his circumstantial description fills an omission in Kroeber's data and my own. This lodge was circular, excavated about two feet deep. Willow poles were abutted in the walls about six inches apart, their tips then bent inward and tied to a wood hoop. Other circular, horizontal withes were lashed around the frame. "Around and over this frame were stood tules to a depth of about ten or twelve inches. Then the soil was thrown over the tules to a depth of several inches. After a few years grass grew over the house and it looked like an [352 underground house or cellar." The floor was 513] covered thickly with tule mats, with extra layers at the sleeping places. Rabbitskin blankets and, if obtainable, bearskins were used as bed-coverings in winter. Save for sleeping, the house was used only in bad weather, when a fire was made in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping directly above. [252] Otherwise all food preparation, cooking, and eating were done outside.[6]

The average-sized house comfortably held [533 a family of six. No ceremonies took place in 524] it, though a man might dance or a flutist play if he were asked, or someone might sing. The hand game (henao ´ɨša) was played there.

343 Storehouses.---Little thatched storehouses
251 (wiči ´ti: literally, little house) were built close to the dwelling. There the men of the family kept their dance regalia and their materials (sinew, hides, drills, feathers, etc.) for making various things, as well as

[6] Latta, op. cit., 22-23.

264 512 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat; cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

252 593 512 If the women of a household were off getting seeds or at other work far from home, the men would cook food so there would be a meal for them when they came home. The women did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

484 512 People seldom went so far from home that they could not return by nightfall, said J.R. Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with whom they can encamp for the night?] they come back before night."

512 When men went out on a long hunt they returned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

512 513 352 Old and young went to bed at the same time, J.R. thought. The little children were "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family, each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

291 [281] Not much clothing was worn by the Chukchansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front [possibly she means the breechclout ends]. She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the [302] penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wildcat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[84] Handbook, 519.

342 were lashed around the frame poles, ending, of course, each side of the doorway. To these were lashed bunches of tarweed (a´mas, N.W.; tot, M.N.); pine needles (maya, N.W.) and another pine growing at a higher altitude (inil, N.W.; cedar?) was also used for thatching. An additional bark covering was mentioned, but not described, by N.W.; nothing was put over the tarweed, said M.N. Milkweed string was used
[284] for all the lashings. M.N. said the tarweed was "woven," not lashed, to the frame and horizontal withes [a dubious statement, -- A.H.G.]. Marking the top of the doorway was a horizontal stick lashed to the doorway pole; this served to support a small obliquely jutting roof, also thatched, over the main roof. The door was just high enough for the average Chukchansi to walk through; tall people stooped. A door covering of "grass" [doubtless the twined mat door of the more southerly Yokuts, -- A.H.G.] was leaned, not tied, against the door. It seldom blew away, and if it did, was recovered and set up again.

Directly above the door roof or "porch" was an open space which served as a smoke vent. Then the final or apex section of the space between the door poles was covered with thatch resting on a short horizontal stick.

351 The fire was placed about two feet inside the door so the smoke went up through the opening above it. The fire itself was small, mostly coals, and was fed mainly by a long log which extended out through the door, its tip in the fire, its butt outside. It was pushed up as the tip burned away. About five feet back from the fire were laid pine logs, in a square or, really a three-sided rectangular form.
352 These served to keep the pine-needle floor covering away from the fire, and also as sitting places. People sat on the logs, their
[513] feet toward the fire. People also slept with their feet toward the fire, lying back on the pine needles. An elderly person, usually "the grandfather," sat either side of the door to keep up the fire. Children slept in the rear center. Dogs were allowed in the house. Around the extreme back and sides were stored sacks of acorns, other foodstuffs, and possessions. [Nothing is said of hanging up objects as in other Yokuts houses. -- A.H.G.]

342 Outside the house was dug a ditch at least six to eight inches deep to drain off rain water. The illustrations are based on drawings and descriptions of the informant N.W.

The same type of house was used throughout the year, although the ramada was the popular gathering-place in summer. Ramadas were used at summer campsites.

361 People placed their houses where they pleased; there was no village arrangement (M.N.). When a house stood alone, it faced whatever way the owner wished. But sometimes two houses were needed to accommodate a large family and

343 251 [171] J.R. described a granary covered with pine needles which shed water; the top was covered. The contents remained dry all winter. To get at the acorns a little hole was poked at the bottom which allowed them to drop into a sack or basket. This type of granary was used here (Chukchansi) and at Awa'ni· (Miwok).

MANUFACTURES AND UTENSILS

265 [272] Baskets.---The following basket types were described and named by the informants N.W. and J.R. Cooking baskets (soiyun) were from 1 to 2 feet deep. Gift and washing baskets ('tewis) for the Mourning Ceremony were about 2 feet in diameter at the bottom, 3 feet in diameter at the top, about 3 feet deep. Small basket for pouring washing water (k'olis 'tewis) was said to be the same shape as the big basket. Winnowing trays (po'o'yi) were flat, circular. Burden baskets were 3 to 4 feet deep, of conical shape, carried by means of a tumpline 2 inches wide. Seedbeaters were about 10 inches across at widest part of their oval, four inches deep, and had a little handle.

Several Chukchansi objects appear in plate 1, Part I, which shows a Yokuts ethnographic collection at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. These are the bowl-shaped coiled basket with feather and red wool ornamentation (toward upper right, second from top); the open boldly striped twine basket (left center) which was a strainer used when making manzanita cider.

525 Also Chukchansi are the six gambling sticks (bottom center) and the two pairs of hand-game bones lying at the tips of the Chukchansi arrows (bottom horizontal).

358 854 Cradles.---In N.W.'s house there is a grandson, Kenneth, about eight months old (1938). All the following information was derived from that situation, N.W. speaking, Lillian, the infant's mother, interpreting.

A baby's first cradle was not made until it was born "so they would know how big to make it." The work was done by the paternal grandmother. It took N.W. three days to make K.W.'s cradle, which is described below.

The first cradle was about 20 to 26 inches long, the back being a stiff twined frame, just as for the later cradles. The foundation was a single layer of sourberry-bush roots, twined with strips of roots of a water plant.[103] The horizontal twining was in groups of three rows. The foot end was left unfinished or covered with a piece of soft hide. The whole cradle was edged with a chaparral brush (Ceanothus?) binding, bound on with monoxil.[104]

[824 284]

---

[103] Roots of a river plant with sharp edges like grass, but no flower (carex?).

[104] A plant with purple flowers which "grows north some place" (redbud?).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 188 b] Chuckchansi

352 531 854 831 The top was bound with the water plant root. About four inches from the top was a horizontal band, woven with monoxil, indicating the sex of the child: a boy had a zigzag or arrowhead design, a girl contiguous diamonds.[105] Sometimes red or black roots were woven into designs across the bottom; these, too, showed the sex of the occupant.

352 854 The first cradle had a band hoop extending forward over the infant's head. There were no fastenings for a tumpline, because a new baby was not carried on the back, but in the arms. "They were afraid to carry a new baby on the back because its eyes might fall out," said N.W., laughing. Also it would have flabby hanging cheeks.

The baby was held in place on the cradle by means of a milkweed string band about two inches wide which passed through loops along the cradle sides. For a young baby lying on its back, the band was not drawn very tight; [237] for an older one carried upright, the lashing prevented movement of any kind. Under the lashing the baby lay wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket. Today a little pillow, mattress, or a cloth baby blanket are used on the cradle under the infant. A child was kept on a cradle until it could walk and talk. Confinement in the cradle is not continued as long as formerly: Lillian thought chil[illegible] remain babyish if kept in the cradle too lo[illegible]

As the baby gre[illegible] transferred to second and third cra[illegible] the last being some thirty-five inches lo[illegible] All were of the same construction as the first save that the hood was fan-shaped, not a mere hoop. On a Chukchansi cradle seen by Thrall, the head was woven as an integral part of the supporting hoop. The upper or back edge of the fan had corners which were merely tied to the top edge of the frame with milkweed string. Large [482] cradles had a tumpline attached for carriage on the mother's back.

The larger cradles were kept after the child had outgrown them and, as long as they were in good repair, were used for younger infants of the proper sex. An infant girl would not be put on an older brother's former cradle, or vice versa.

---

[105] Parallel diagonal lines signified a boy's cradle, zigzag a girl's, says Kroeber (Handbook, 536). Miss Thrall's information is in line with that from other Yokuts.--A.H.G.

[106] Miss Thrall has notes on the treatment of K.W. "He was teething and fretful, consequently he woke frequently, when he would be taken up in the cradle, bounced on the knee, and a general attempt made to soothe him. Lillian usually held him when not otherwise occupied. Sometimes Nancy (his grandmother), or Emma, or other older girls take over when Lillian must go elsewhere. Whenever the baby shows he is unhappy, he gets all the attention the older people can think of to give him, apparently. On the other hand, one attempt to quiet him is to put him back on the cradle soon after taking him up, or when he cries in arms. This seemed to have no effect, and frequently he was taken off again at once."

W [P. 216 9] ~~Western Mono~~ NS 25

Y

342 frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat, skins, and other things hung from them. There was no special place of honor for a guest to sit or sleep, though the preferred place was thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on either side. The senior or authoritative woman of the household who was responsible for the preparation of meals usually sat and worked just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

W Y [571] [361]

There was no village plan, or defined location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

While the Waksachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but were down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the long side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

There was never more than one room to such a dwelling, nor were there partitions. "A man built his house the size he needed and he never added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the center, the smoke escaping through a slot left at the ridgepole between the last rows of thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, obtainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats. Rabbitskin blankets were the preferred covering, though these often had to be obtained by trade with the valley people. No type of pillow or head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.] There was no place of honor.

W Y ● [352] [237] [439] [522] [513]

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (ṭoṭo´pti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their sup-

the new clothes on her, and any other ornaments which she already possessed. This washing was purely ritualistic, as the woman had bathed that day, as usual, after rising from the hot pit. The meat was cooked and they all, including the father, partook of it, The woman's parents gave the man's parents "about two sacks of acorn meal" (S.O.); gave them acorn meal and blankets (D.). The parents-in-law (ma´kši) stayed all day; they never quarrelled, were always congenial. People came to see the mother and her infant, but there was no singing, dancing, or playing of games. After this ritual the man and wife could sleep together

The cradle (akh:l:č), as described by S.O., had a forked stick as foundation. Across this were tied with ša' cord several horizontal pieces of split wood. On top of this was fastened a stiff mat of twined "chaparral brush" (i.e., the normal Mono-type stiff cradle back). Down each side were a series of buckskin thong loops to carry the string band which held the baby in place. When the baby was about six months old, a shade of twined "chaparral brush" of the fan-shaped Mono type, was affixed to the cradle (pl. 2, b herein).

The baby was first wrapped in an old piece of deerskin or rabbitskin blanket with shredded willow bark, usually the remains of old aprons, laid in as an absorbent. Over this was wrapped another blanket of rabbitskin or a single wildcat skin. The outer wrapping was omitted in warm weather.

Puberty

When a girl's breasts grew large enough for some milk [sic] to be exuded, she stopped eating meat; otherwise she would have large breasts. (D. pointed out a fat young girl who was the result of modern carelessness in this respect.) She must then begin to use a scratching stick on her head, as her hair would break off and be short if she touched it with her fingers. These observances were continued up to and through a girl's first menstrual period and at the two following. There was no separate hut for menstruating women; they did not cook, and intercourse was forbidden. Bathing followed the period.

On the occasion of the first period a little cleansing ritual (•pla´oša) was made by the girl's parents. She was first washed in the river or creek, then taken home where she was ritually washed from a basket. A new deerskin apron or such ornaments as the family could afford were put on her, and she was given meat to eat. There was no dancing or singing on this occasion, although it was not prohibited in any sense. Neither was there any betrothal or association with a youth.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

283 The commonest string material was milkweed, *Asclepias*, called *shah* or *chaka*. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fibers, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply. This is a practically universal rule for California. Except for a few ancient fragments, every piece of three-ply rope or twine in the State is of American provenience or obviously modern.

The other great string material of the bulk of the Californians, wild hemp, *Apocynum*, has not been reported from the Yokuts; but this is likely to be only an oversight. The inner bark of a large shrub called *hoh* was made by the Yokuts into rough rope for withes, pigeon cages, and similar bound articles.

CRADLES OF THE YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIANS.

854 The Yokuts cradle shows three types. The first is a flat rectangle or trapezoid of twined basketry with a curved hood. The hood is
● 352 loosely or not at all attached to the top edge of the base, and is car-
285 ried by a basketry hoop or side supports. (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*.) This type is found also among the western Mono, and, with some modification, among the eastern Mono. (Pl. 40, *k*.) The latter run the rods of their base across instead of lengthwise, and set a smaller and rounder hood on more snugly. The Miwok (Pl. 39, *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*) and western [171] Mono (Pl. 40, *l*) sometimes use the base of the Yokuts, without the hood. The Washo cradle is substantially that of the Yokuts.

The second type is built up on half a dozen sticks lashed across a large wooden fork. A layer of string-twined tules is put over the sticks. (Pl. 40, *m*.)

The third form is a mat of twined tules, with loops at the edges to pull the lashings through. (Pl. 40, *g*.)

The hooded basketry cradle seems to predominate in the north, the forked stick type in the south, and the soft frameless tule form on Tulare Lake; but this distribution is not altogether certain, and it is possible that the age of the child, or the season of the year, may have been of influence.

The Maidu cradle is often made on a forked framework, and in [172] summer carries a basketry hood. It differs, however, in carrying numerous light transverse rods, in having the ends of the fork united

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

by a stick loop, and in often lacking the point of the fork. (Pl. 40, *n*, *o*.) None of the Yokuts cradles, clearly, is made for hanging, except perhaps by a strap. The Maidu cradle may be described as a combination of the Yokuts first and second types; among the latter people no such combination or transitional type has been found.

The southern California cradle, so far as known, has a ladderlike foundation of a few short sticks on two long ones. The two long rods are, however, joined at the top instead of at the bottom: that is, there is a loop at the top instead of a fork below. The hood is also a separate hoop of wickerwork. (Pl. 39, *b*.)

The cradle of northeastern California, northwestern California, and the Pomo region is, in spite of much local variation, uniformly of a different order. It is of basketry, not of sticks; it is hollow instead of flat; and a rounded bottom is an integral part of the structure, while the hood is clearly a subsidiary feature. This northern cradle is built essentially for sitting (Pl. 35); that of central and southern California only for lying.

FIG. 48.—Cradle types of central and southern California. *a*, Diegueño, Mohave; *b*, *c*, Maidu; *d*, Yokuts, Kitanemuk; *e*, northern Miwok; *f*, Yokuts, Miwok, western Mono; *g*, eastern Mono. (Cf. Pls. 39, 40.)

The stiff cradles of central and southern California may be schematized as in Figure 48, *a–e* being types with a wooden frame, *f–g* basketry forms. It will be seen that there is a complete transition from *a* to *d*: *b* differs superficially from *c* only in lacking the point of the latter. Structurally, however, the gap in the series comes between these two, *b* being only *a* with the ends of the frame rod joined, whereas *c* is *d*, namely, a natural fork at the bottom, with an added hoop. That form and consequent use may be of more importance than structural plan, so far as connections go, appears from the fact that *b* and *c* are the winter and summer types of the same people, the Maidu.

Even the stick and the basketry types shade into each other: *b* and *c*, whose transverse rods are close and slender, need only the substitution of a few courses of twining for their underlying hoop or fork frame to become *g*.

In Miwok basketry pieces of type *f*, like Plate 39, *e*, the strengthening hoop seems secondary, but may be a vestige of a former wooden foundation.

The hood is primarily associated with the basketry cradle, but again there are exceptions on both sides that make transitions. *B* and *d* are always hoodless, so far as known, and the hood of *a* is

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

854 structurally separate. *C*, however, is hooded; on the other hand, *f* is found without a hood as well as with it.

352 Finally, the soft tule-mat cradle of the Tachi (Pl. 40, *g*) is the same in plan as Mono stiff basketry specimens like Plate 40, *l*, differing only in its pliability.

285 171 An aberrant type is *e*, so far reported only from the northerly Miwok. The frame is wooden, but distinctive in not being in a single plane. The two rods curl up from the base. This enables them to serve at once as hooks for hanging and as a hood frame. (Pl. 39, *f*.)

The historical interrelations of the several types can only become known through ampler material than is now available, both from within California and without. It is only possible to say that in spite of transitions the basketry and the wooden-frame types seem fundamental.

The former has its rods running longitudinally and is intra-Californian, or rather cis-Sierra, the northern sitting cradle linking with it in this feature of direction of the elements.

The wooden-frame cradle with cross rods is trans-Sierra, including southern California. On this interpretation the hill and mountain Maidu cradle has been shaped by Shoshonean influences from the Great Basin, and the Yokuts have been infiltrated to some extent by the same influences. On the other hand, the Shoshoneans within the Sierra Nevada, such as the western Mono, and presumably the Tübatulabal, follow the Californian method of construction at least as frequently as do the neighboring native stocks.

171 854 352 285 531 An interesting minor feature of Yokuts cradles is the expression of sex in the decoration. The Chukchansi put a band of parallel diagonal lines on a boy's hood, a zigzag on a girl's. A number of the Yokuts cradles from other localities show the same designs; several have the twining of the frame analogously disposed (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*). Diamonds may be the equivalent of the zigzag, in which case a genital connotation is possible. Eastern and western Mono hoods show patterns of the same kind (Pl. 40, *k*); the Washo denote sex in their hood ornamentation; the Miwok may therefore be guessed to follow the principle also; and the Mohave use distinct patterns for boys and girls in the braided bands with which the child is lashed to the frame, besides putting feathers only on a boy's hood. The device is therefore of some geographical extent, and may represent an eastern influence into California. It is of special appeal because of the rarity of symbolic expression in California outside of ritual; and even in ritual the symbolism is scant compared with the habits of the Southwest, the Plains, and the East.

While the same patterns probably occur over a large area with the same symbolism, the sex denotation itself is expressed in other ways

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

also. Thus the Nutunutu boy's cradle is said to have the hood fastened only at the sides, the girl's at the top and the base also.

POTTERY.

The Yokuts practice one curious and hitherto undescribed art: that of pottery making. The precise distribution of this industry remains to be ascertained. The southern hill tribes made pots; the adjacent valley tribes appear to have; on the lake tribes there is no information; the Chukchansi and probably other northern tribes did not follow the art. Of adjacent Shoshoneans, the Tübatulabal made pots; some of the western Mono probably did. Outside of these groups there is no record whatever of the industry. It is not connected geographically with the pottery-making area of southern California, which does not come north of the San Bernardino Range, so far as known; and the territorial gap is paralleled by a thorough diversity of the ware.

The distinctive feature of this pottery is its excessive crudeness. It appears to have been made by a rough fitting together of pieces of clay, or a pressing out of a lump: there is no evidence of the coiling and smoothing method. It is doubtful whether the clay contains tempering. Glue, blood, or a sticky substance may have been introduced as binding material. The color is from light to dark gray. There is no slip, wash, or pattern, except now and then a rude incision obviously modeled on a basket pattern. The shapes are indefinitely varied, without approach to standardized forms. A row of the vessels looks as if produced by children or experimenters. (Pl. 51.)

Even the uses are not known. Most of the pots show evidences of employment in the fire. But their purposes must have been special, since the ordinary cooking of the Yokuts is as regularly performed in baskets as among other groups. Small vessels may have been intended for services that we can only suspect. Thus the Yaudanchi affirm that they formerly kept tobacco in hollowed clay balls.

Archaeology gives no information as to the age of the industry. There has been little collecting in the Yokuts area and no systematic exploration. The prehistoric clay cooking balls or sling shots of the stoneless Stockton plains, where the Yokuts Chulamni lived in the historic period, suggest a connection; but no vessels of the same material have ever been found with these. The Clear Lake Pomo sometimes make a minute receptacle by pressing a hole in a lump of clay; but they do not bake these little articles. Evidently there were some anticipations toward pottery making latent in parts of California; and the Yokuts carried these tentative steps

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

342 for probably ten or fifteen years before it had to be rebuilt. The rest of the houses were of a more temporary nature.

Surely the most striking of all Yokuts houses was the long, mat-covered, communal house called *Kawi*. This house was used by *Wowol, Chunut* and *Tachi* and probably by the *Tulamni, Tuhohi,* and *Hometwoli*. It sometimes reached a length of three hundred feet and looked from the exterior like a long, wedge-shaped tent.

In the communal house lived many families. We are told 342 that in some instances the people of an entire village occupied 592 one house. The house was built with a long ridge-pole supported by crotched posts and with a steep-pitched roof. On the sloping side poles, were left stubs of some of the small limbs. 352 These served as hooks to support horizontal poles over which were thrown the tule mats. Such stubs were also left on the underside of the sloping poles, or rafters, and also on the center posts. Strings of dried acorns and of fish and meat and all manner of camp equipment were hung from these Indian clothes hangers. It is thought that each family constructed its own part of this house, with doors at both ends as well as along the sides. These doors could be closed at night with tule mats. Although there were no partitions in the house and one could look through from one end to the other, each family had its own space, its own door and its own fire place, and it was considered a breach of etiquette to walk lengthwise of the house through the portion occupied by another family.

Along the front of the house a shade was constructed. This 342 shade is still used by many of the Yokuts Indians and is called *Ch'-iniu*. On the treeless plains and shores of Tulare Lake it was indispensable. Crotched poles were set in the ground at regular intervals. Other poles were laid across them and tule mats were unrolled on top of the cross poles. Near streams a covering of willow brush was used, instead of tule mats. It was this tule mat and light framework house that the *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wowol,* and *Chunut* dismantled, rolled up quickly and placed on their large tule rafts when river-swollen, or wind-swept Tulare Lake flooded their camp sites.

It is unfortunate that more details have not been preserved concerning the long, wedge-shaped house. Life under conditions which existed in such a dwelling must have been complicated, to say the least. Each family was in close contact with 362 the neighboring families and there was practically no privacy for anyone in the tribe.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS HOUSEKEEPING

115 Regarding the interior arrangement of Indian houses, we are indebted principally to T. J. Mayfield, a San Joaquin valley 353 pioneer who, from the time he was six years of age until he was about sixteen, between 1850 and 1862, was kept by members of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on upper Kings River. It is from his statements that the following has been taken:

354 "In the center of the single room, directly under the small circular opening at the top of the room, was a fire pit approximately two feet in diameter and excavated to a depth of from ten to twelve inches below the floor of the house. It was about half filled with rocks used in cooking. In bad weather a fire was kept in this house day and night and during that time the family cooking was done over it. At other times all food was prepared in an outside firepit and eaten outside. In fact, the house was used only for storage purposes; except during the rainy, or cold season.

352 "The floor next to the walls of Indian houses was sometimes covered to a depth of several inches by tule mats. These mats were formed by lashing a layer of tules together at intervals of twelve or fourteen inches. These mats could be rolled up like the grass matting so commonly used in pioneer white homes.

"The beds of the inmates were arranged around the fire pit, the heads being toward the wall with the feet toward the fire. In a large house this left a circular aisle several feet in width between the fire pit and the feet of the sleepers.

●352 "In making a bed, a hole was excavated several inches into the floor of the house. This hole was filled with loose tules, 513 the tules being covered by several thicknesses of tule mats. On top of this crude inner-spring mattress was thrown, if obtainable, the skin of a grizzly bear, the hair being upward. The sleeper lay on one-half of the bear skin and pulled the other half over him. In case of severely cold weather a rabbit skin blanket might be used next to the sleeper, the whole making probably as comfortable a bed as one could wish.

251 "With the possible exception of acorns stored in an outside granary, the food supply for the entire family group was stored 353 inside the house. Baskets and bags full of all sorts of seeds and dried fruits, tule roots, grass nuts, prepared acorns and other food stuffs too numerous to mention, filled the space next to the wall between the heads of the sleepers. Dried acorns

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Wah-guk'-in and Ke'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chewmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kota, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were used for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred."

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS BABY CRADLES

One of the most interesting phases of Yokuts culture is their method of handling and carrying their children. Many of the things to be discussed here vary slightly among the Yokuts tribes, but the general scheme was once much the same from the Cosumne River and Martinez on the North to Tehachapi and Paleta on the south. By far the most effective Yokuts artifacts, at least as regards the rearing of children, are these baby cradles, or baskets. The most detailed account concerning this interesting piece of equipment was that furnished by a prominent family of the *Wukchumne* tribe.

Among the Wukchumne it was customary to hold a ceremony, or meeting, practically identical with the modern baby shower. Even though many of the primitive customs have held over into civilized life, and persons who have studied primitive life are more or less accustomed to such parallels, it comes as a surprise to everyone to find that such an interesting custom was so well established among the primitive inhabitants of the San Joaquin Valley.

The materials used in the construction of the baby cradle varied slightly among the numerous tribes. The Tachi, who occupied the north shore of Tulare Lake, wove a very interesting cradle of tule. It was soft and pliable and formed a good mattress for the child. The *Choinok* and *Wolasi* attached a tule pad to the bed of a wicker cradle.

The plains and foothill tribes made a very light and strong cradle. Some tribes used slender willow wythes. In the construction of their cradles the Wukchumne used cottonwood twigs.

Among the Wukchumne two separate cradles were used for each child. The first cradle was sometimes made by the mother, although a grandmother, or some other old lady of the tribe, often made it and sold or presented it to the mother. This cradle was about thirty inches in length and so woven of cottonwood twigs that it could be rolled up like a piece of matting, the cross stitching being made of pliable cladium roots. This was a temporary cradle and the baby was kept upon it for a matter of three or four weeks.

As soon as the child was born, materials were assembled and construction started on a large, permanent cradle. This was not possible before, because the design used in weaving the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

854
352
285

Left: A **Wukchumne** infant cradle, used until the larger cradle was completed, and then tied high in an oak tree until the child learned to walk. Right: A **Yeudanchi** infant cradle with hoop to support the covering over the face of the baby.

cradle for a boy differed from that used in weaving a girl's cradle.

At the time when construction of the large cradle was started, all the grandmothers and older women of the immediate family group held a meeting. They called upon the mother and her child and brought with them all sorts of materials, including toys and play-things for the baby.

The mother never constructed the larger, permanent cradle. No reason is given for this, except that the mother had many other duties in caring for the child. It is said that the maternal grandmother took a considerable pride in preparing this permanent cradle and I have observed this always to be the case among the Wukchumne.

When the temporary cradle was discarded it was rolled tightly and tied securely, high in an oak tree. It is explained

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

by Indians that this was done in order that nothing would happen to the child. 854

After the child had learned to walk, the small cradle was taken down and burned. It was thought if anything happened to the small cradle the child would never learn to walk. This accounts for the scarcity of the temporary cradle in basketry collections. 352 285

As soon as the permanent cradle was begun, the grandmother devoted all of her time to its construction and had generally finished it at the end of a week or ten days. It was from two and one-half to three feet in length, about eight inches wide at the bottom and about eighteen inches wide at the top. This flat, rigid base was constructed of two layers of cottonwood twigs. The upper layer was placed length wise and the under layer cross wise. These twigs were lashed together in an interesting pattern by the common stitching material, the cladium root called *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

It is the design used in lashing the twigs together that determines the difference between a cradle for a boy and a cradle for a girl. The design generally extends across the cradle diagonally. In the boy's cradle the design always ends at the opposite side pointing in the same direction in which it it starts from the first side. It may have several off-sets or "Z" shapes like our conventional form for lightning, but it ends in the same direction in which it starts. 854 352 285 531

The design for the girl's cradle may start out the same as for the boy but changes its direction and ends in the opposite direction from which it starts. Whether this feature of the design is to be understood as a Yokuts recognition of any well fixed feminine characteristic will have to be settled by the reader.

The flat, rigid base, which has just been described, is strengthened and covered at the upper end by a sunshade made of the same material. This sunshade is formed in a very interesting way. A hoop of several cottonwood twigs is sprung across the framework, about eight inches from the upper end. From a point in the middle of the top of the base other cottonwood twigs spread in a fan shape to the hoop, where they are securely lashed. The sunshade is then stiffened by stitching with hupud in the same design which characterizes the base. 854 352 285

In order to make this shade sun and water proof, the pulp from the common soap root is pounded to a paste and applied

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

854 to the outside with the hands. This paste dries to a hard, smooth surface and shuts out both sun and rain.

352 285 The upper part of the sunshade, which is attached to the top of the base like the handle of a fan, forms a convenient handle, or grip, by which the cradle and the child can be moved from place to place.

Along the sides of the base are loops of buckskin. In the old days soft moss or grass was placed under the child. It was then wrapped in a small rabbit skin blanket, or buckskin. The child was then placed upon the cradle and lashed to it by means of a long milkweed fiber strap, laced through the buckskin loops at the side and criss-crossed over the child much as a shoe is laced.

[531] From the sunshade directly over the child's face are hung short strings of beads, at the ends of which are suspended bits of abalone shell, periwinkle shell, or keyhole limpet shell. These are not to be played with—only to be looked at. The hands of the child are strapped down to its sides under the wrappings.

Originally the Indian mother carried this burden with her by means of a milkweed-string band which fastened to the base of the cradle on either side at a point near where the hoop of the sunshade was attached. This looped band was placed across the forehead of the mother and the burden was distributed between her forehead, back and shoulders. In some tribes the name for this cradle was *shaw'-nil,* the same as the word for burden.

Some of the foothill tribes made a crude baby cradle of a forked stick with other sticks lashed across it by means of sinews, or string.

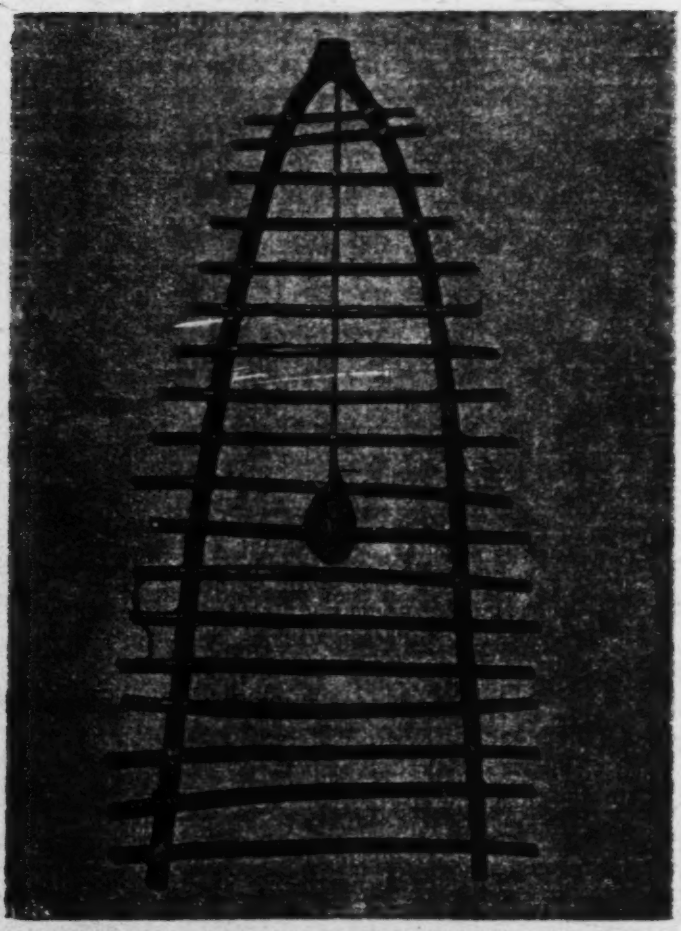
Yoi'-mut, the aged *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) Yokuts quoted on other subjects, furnished the following most interesting story concerning one of the articles carried with all Chunut cradles:

"Chunut mothers kept a piece of *kodis* [soapstone, steatite, or talc] hanging from the sunshade of the baby cradles. When they changed the baby they scraped some powder from this soapstone to put on the baby. It was just like your talcum powder."

I have in my collection a forked-stick Yokuts cradle which was collected from the *Yaudanchi* Yokuts about 1868 by Wilco Mentz, of Porterville, and which has had one of these soapstone talcum powder cans suspended from it for more than eighty years.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

854
352
285



Type of baby cradle used by the Keyeti Yokuts on Tule River. Suspended by the string is a piece of soapstone from which was scraped talcum powder to put on the baby when the grass or moss diaper was changed. This cradle, together with the soapstone, was collected in 1908.

Verily, there is nothing new under the sun.

The *moke* (mo'-ke), or Indian woman, could leave her baby cradle leaning against a bank, a rock, or a tree, and be gone for hours with the certainty of coming back and finding the child

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

854
352
285

Left: A Wukchumne Yokuts baby cradle with milkweed fiber tie-strap and hemp fiber carrying-strap. Suspended at the right of the sunshade is a steatite reel-shaped stone from which talcum powder was scraped for use when changing the baby. Right: A Mutunutu Yokuts baby cradle padded with tules.

exactly where she left it. It is said by persons who have been close observers that it was often customary to keep the children on these cradles long after they were able to walk. Why the white persons who first settled this country failed to appreciate and appropriate this effective article of primitive culture is beyond understanding.

Probably more interest is shown by whites concerning the Indian name for baby cradle than concerning any other thing relating to Indians. Among the Wukchumne and other Kaweah River Yokuts tribes, the name was *ahketse* (ah-keet'-se). Almost every other tribe of Indians in the western hemisphere had a different name for this article. So did they have different names for *moccasin, squaw, tepe,* and every other primitive article.

The word squaw, was adopted from the Narragansett Indian dialect. *Papoose, chuck* (meaning food), *moccasin* and *tomahawk* were taken from an *Algonquin* dialect. Tepe was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 825 854 To make a little baby strong we used to get fat from a turtle and rub it on all of his joints. That made them strong. We used turtle fat because he can run and swim as soon as he comes out of the egg. We called the fat *hin'-kah*. To make a little baby stand up we put a soap root brush in the fire so the ends glowed. Then we touched it against his knees. He would straighten his legs and stand up.

159 352 854 My people did not make their baby cradles like the Wukchumne did. They made most of them of tules. They were nice and soft for the baby. I think they were better, too. We made another cradle of a forked stick with small sticks fastened across it. It was covered with tules when we put the baby on it.

159 854 We kept a piece of *kuts* (koots, soapstone) hanging on the baby cradle to use when we changed the baby. We scraped powder from it to put on the baby. It was the same as your talcum powder. We called this cradle-stone *me-ha'-te*.

159 361 From the time I was a girl I knew lots of old Tachi. I heard them talk about the West Side and I remember a few things over there. The Polvardera, southeast of Coalinga, was called *Sawkeu* (Saw-ke'-oo). There was good water there. The Indians camped there to hunt antelope.

There used to be an old Tachi village called *Wahl'-muh* on the west side of Tulare Lake. I knew the last chief at that place. He was an old uncle of old "Lemoore Bob" who used to dance.

[103] The Poso Chaná was called *We'-kit Le'-wis*. It meant Pieces Cut. Four ridges ran up to the hills from the place. They looked like they had been cut out with a knife. The water at Poso Chaná was not as good as at Sawkeu. It was a little salty.

159 439 The Indian traders used to meet at the Poso Chaná to trade with the coast Indians. *Kahn'-te* was the oldest chief of the Tachi I ever knew. He used to have charge of the trading. He told me all about it and taught me his song. I have always remembered it. Lots of other old-time Tachi told me about it, too.

The bead and seashell traders from the coast met the Tachi traders at Poso Chaná. The Tachi and the other Indians would not let the people from the west come right up to the lake. They were afraid they would learn how to get things without trading.